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COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION

AN ADDRESS

BY

JOHN H. W. LESTRANGE

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COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

JOHN H. B. LATROBE,

OF MARYLAND,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE NEW YORK
STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY, HELD IN
METROPOLITAN HALL,

MAY 13TH, 1852.

BALTIMORE:
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"I have often, Mr. President, expressed the opinion, that over slavery, as it exists in the States, this Government has no control whatever. It is entirely and exclusively a State concern. And, while it is thus clear that Congress has no direct power over the subject, it is our duty to take care that the authority of this Government is not brought to bear upon it by any indirect interference whatever. It must be left to the States, to the course of things, and to those causes over which this Government has no control. All this, in my opinion, is in the clear line of our duty."—WEBSTER, *before the Senate, March 16, 1836.*

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TO DOCTOR JAMES HALL.

MY DEAR DOCTOR:

In dedicating to you this revised publication of my address in New York, I wish to testify my sense of the great services you have rendered to Colonization. As the founder and first governor of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas, whose wise counsels and determined courage gave it the firm foundation on which it rests, and as the zealous and devoted friend, who, in this country, has since devoted his talents and his unequalled experience to promote its interests, your claims to consideration are known to no one better than to myself, as President of the Society, which, as yet, controls it. When, to this is added, the inducement of personal friendship, the present dedication will not be wondered at.

The views contained in the following pages were suggested by general reasoning, some twenty years ago, and have, in the interval, been more than once proclaimed and acted upon: but, it was not until the seventh census, that it was seen, how fully they were sustained by the best of all testimony, then, for the first time, afforded, to the same extent.

A leading object of the address was to place Colonization and Abolition in what were believed to be their

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true relations towards each other, and to the objects at which their friends, respectively, were aiming. That this should be done in good temper, and fairly, was, of course, important: and although, as a Southern man, I am, certainly, fully imbued with what is known as "the Southern feeling," on this subject, it is hoped, that you will find, that, in this revision of my speech, I have offended against no canon of good taste, or indulged in more than a proper latitude of argument. That there are many, very many, among the so-called abolitionists, who believe, that they are laboring, in the best way, to promote the best interests of the colored race in the United States, is willingly conceded. Such persons must always be open to conviction; and I would avoid the use of a phrase or a word, which could, by irritating them, prevent their appreciating, at its true value, whatever of fact or argument is contained in the following address. There are others, again, to whom abolition has its political, as well as its philanthropical, attractions,—the former constituting its chief interest. But the most of these, even, I believe, would hesitate in their uses of abolition, if they could be satisfied that they were periling the welfare, if not the very existence, of an entire people, by the violence and bitterness of their course.

Renewing the expression of my respect and regard,

I am, my dear Doctor, most truly yours,

JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

BALTIMORE, *June 27, 1852.*

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MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE left a distant home and a sick bed, that I might witness the honor here paid, this evening, to Colonization. It is now upwards of thirty years, since, as a boy, I was accidentally present, for the first time, at a Colonization meeting; not in a hall like this, where the blaze of a thousand lamps, reflected from frescoed walls, turns night to day, but in an ancient Presbyterian church, where a few dip candles, in tin sconces, hung here and there, shone feebly upon a body of men, more brilliant in talent than great in numbers, who had met to discuss the first expedition to Africa. This was in Georgetown, then little more than a village in the District of Columbia. And now, here, in

the throbbing heart of our country, Colonization holds its annual meetings, and takes high rank among the most important of the philanthropic and religious associations of the day.

The object of the Society, as declared by its founders, was, and has always been, "the removal of the free colored people of the United States, with their own consent, to Africa." At first, men scouted at the insignificance of the means by which such a result was proposed to be accomplished; and few, who lent their pecuniary aid, had much faith in the scheme. While the names of Bible Society, Tract Society, Missionary Society, and, later, Temperance Society, attracted the support of their respective friends to objects which the names explained, the name, Colonization Society, seemed to convey no meaning, which the contributors agreed about, as a reason for helping to set it forward. Some gave money, as though it were a missionary enterprise. Some gave in view of affecting the slave trade. Some gave, that slaves might be made more valuable, when the free blacks were removed from contact with them. Some gave, on the other hand, in the hope, that, somehow or other, the abolition of slavery would be promoted by Colonization. Some gave with purely commercial views: and some gave, because others gave, and

because they had a vague idea that good might come of it. Want of faith in the primary object was thus compensated, pecuniarily, by the interest felt in the secondary considerations connected with it. It is true, the means thus obtained were, after all, very inconsiderable; but they were sufficient.

Had Colonization, in 1818, possessed the present income of the Bible Society, what could it have done with it? It was totally destitute of all experience in its work. Its first settlement, at Sherbro, had proved a failure. Had ampler means authorized an establishment there on a larger scale, the failure would have been more conspicuous and appalling. But money could not have procured more emigrants than then came forward. Money could not have qualified the first emigrants to assume, at once, the offices of a free government. Money could not have imparted that acquaintance with the diseases of the climate, which it took years of experience, afterwards, to obtain. What was wanting, far more than money, was the great want of our countrymen, PATIENCE. A colony, like a fire, is to be built up by degrees. A few coals, fed at first, with shavings, then with light wood, then with small sticks, then with larger, produce, at last, a flame which may consume a forest. So, in planting a Colony. The first emigrants should be few and well

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selected; additions, of suitable materials, should be made cautiously, and at intervals, permitting each ship-load to become permanently established before the arrival of another; until, the strength of the community being sufficiently assured, an *ad libitum* emigration to it might be permitted. Necessity compelled the Colonization Society to pursue this prudent plan; to which is to be attributed, in a good degree, a success unparalleled in the annals of Colonization throughout the world. Had the Society's means corresponded to its eagerness, the Colony might have been smothered with emigrants, for whom it was not prepared,—as green logs will put out the newly made fire. All this is appreciated now. It was very far from being appreciated at the time.

At last, and after many years, Colonization succeeded in its experiment; and, as it grew to be admitted, that a Colony of free colored people from the United States, capable of self-government, self-support and self-defence, had been established on the Coast of Africa, Colonizationists ceased to be looked upon as fanatics or enthusiasts; and the enquiry came to be common, as to the practical effect of what had thus been accomplished, and what were to be the influences exercised upon many interests by the Republic of Liberia.

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The Republic of Liberia!* The name alone speaks volumes. The few Colonists—uneducated men—many of them just released from slavery—who landed upon Sherbro Island,—who removed to Cape Montserrado,—where, having been joined by others, not a whit more learned than themselves, or more experienced in the ways of freedom, they did battle with the natives unto victory, against overwhelming odds,—these Colonists, protected from on High, have

*The name of Liberia was given to the Colonies on the Coast of Africa by the late General Robert Goodloe Harper, one of the earliest, most active and most distinguished friends of Colonization. In 1821, Doctor Eli Ayres, an agent of the American Colonization Society, returned from the Coast, where, in conjunction with Commodore Stockton,—now senator from New Jersey in the United States Senate,—he had purchased the territory at Cape Montserrado, now Monrovia, from the natives. He was a frequent visitor at General Harper's. On one occasion, when Dr. Ayres was describing the localities about the Cape, General Harper suggested that the speaker, then a student of law in his office, should attempt, under Dr. Ayres' instructions, to make a map of the newly acquired territory. This was done; and the map was given to the engraver, who returned a proof sheet, that the names might be added. It was agreed that this should be the work of General Harper and the map maker, each exercising his ingenuity alternately, General Harper naming the territory. Various names were suggested, and Freedonia was on the point of being adopted; when General Harper said, "can nothing be made of Liber, a free man?" and, after several attempts to render the word euphonious, "Liberia" was hit upon and adopted. This name being subsequently approved by the American Colonization Society, has ever since been retained as descriptive of the entire country occupied by the Colonies from the United States: thus, when the State of Maryland founded a Colony there, it was called "Maryland in Liberia."

grown to be a Republic;—recognized, even where not formally acknowledged, as one among the family of civilized nations. It has its treaties with Europe. England has received its President with the distinction due to the head of an independent State, and sent him to Monrovia, on his return from London, in a vessel of war, which she presented to the infant government. Its flag is known and respected. Its commerce is increasing: its laws are wise and well administered: its people live in obedience to them: religion is respected: education thrives: want is unknown to hands willing to labor; and the rewards of labor, integrity and talent, in Liberia, as elsewhere, are wealth and honor.

It is true, that it has taken time to produce these results; and the unfriends of the cause refer to the slow growth of the Colony, as an argument against the efficiency of the scheme. But they do not recollect the fact, that the Colonies of Liberia are now much further advanced, in permanent prosperity, than were the Colonies of this country, at the end of the same number of years. The proper view of the subject, in this connection, is that taken by the Legislature of Maryland, at its recent session, in the following extract from the Report of its Committee on Colored Population.

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“The committee deem it only proper to say, that they do not look upon the numbers of emigrants, that have been transported to Africa by the State Society, as, by any means, the proper standard by which to estimate the success of Colonization. The true standard is the condition and capacity of the Colony in view of the purposes for which it was established. Does it afford a safe and comfortable home, in a congenial climate, to which the free people of color may emigrate, when circumstances shall make it their interest to do so,—presently, at the expense of the State and others,—hereafter, as commerce grows up between the two countries, at their own expense, as Irish and German emigrants now come to America? If this question can be satisfactorily answered, and the committee believe that it can be, the Society has done all that could be reasonably required of it, and has fulfilled, so far, the purpose of its existence.”

Since the successful results on the Coast of Africa, the interest felt in Colonization, in its relations “beyond the sea,” has, naturally, to some extent diminished. Its home relations, however, have been gradually increasing in importance. They occupy now a large share of the public mind; and it is in regard to these last, Mr. President, that I propose more particularly to speak.

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The persons who take the most active interest in all questions connected with the colored population, in a philanthropic point of view, are the colonizationists and the abolitionists. The relations which they occupy towards each other are not without their interest. A good many rough passages have doubtless taken place between them, in which, perhaps, the hardest words were those used by the abolitionists. These words, however, have done but little mischief; and, putting them out of view, it is thought, that the colonizationists, as such, have, after all, less cause of complaint against their opponents than they have sometimes fancied.

Abolition aims at the emancipation of the slaves without regard to circumstances. The ground of its action is, that slavery is a sin of itself, which no circumstances can ever justify. Colonization, without meddling, at all, with this vexed question, has to do, only, with the removal of the *free* people of color, and emancipated slaves, of the United States, with their own consent, to Africa. Apparently, there is no occasion for collision between the two. Abolition might succeed in freeing every slave in America, and Colonization still exist, to remove every one, so freed, to Liberia. But Colonization gives, as reasons for its existence,—that, amalgamation being out of the ques-

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tion, the two races, of free whites and free blacks, can never enjoy social and political equality in the same land:* that the well-being of both, and especially the freedom and happiness of the latter, require their separation: that an unexampled immigration of whites from Europe, and a rapidly increasing native white population, are gradually elbowing the free colored race, which is the weakest, out of their accustomed employments: that none other are open to them; that this state of things is growing, and must grow, worse and worse,—and that the day will arrive, when it will be apparent to the free colored people, that, with them, starvation, or the bitterest oppression, has no alternative but emigration. Against this day, and acting on these convictions, Colonization has established the Colonies in Africa, by the slow process that has been described, as a refuge and a home for those, whose future in America is dark and hopeless. Abolition, denying all these premises, and insisting that emancipation on the spot, here to remain, is perfectly consis-

* All history shews that two races, which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, can exist in the same land in no other relation than that of master and slave, or, where both are nominally free, in that of the oppressor and the oppressed. The cases of the Moors and Spaniards—Saxons and Normans—Anglo-Saxons and American Indians—Anglo-Saxons and East Indians—are in point. See "Thoughts Concerning Domestic Slavery," by John L. Carey, for a full discussion of this point.

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tent with the happiness of the blacks, finds itself the antagonist of Colonization, rather on account of the reasons for action, than of the action itself, of the latter. It is the active antagonist, too; because, if it is to succeed in its views in regard to the colored population, it must do so by means of agitation; while time alone, without agitation, must determine the success of the scheme of Colonization. A people cannot be argued into a change of its habitation: while argument may be sufficient to induce a master to manumit his slaves, or a Legislature to adopt measures for prospective emancipation. Hence, while Colonization, relying upon the force of circumstances, over which it has no control, to shew the free blacks that their true interests must be promoted by removal, has remained comparatively passive,—Abolition has ever been its active assailant; and, with all the means at its command, has encouraged agitation in regard to every matter connected with the social and political relations of our colored population.

If there is error in these propositions concerning abolition, it proceeds from no willingness to state the case unfairly. There is no reason for other than the most candid view of the matter; for, practically, abolition has been one of the most efficient auxiliaries that Colonization has had; unintentionally, of course:

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but there can be no doubt about the fact. Let me explain.

Modern abolition is, now, rather more than twenty years old. Its activity preceded, somewhat, the Southampton massacre. The Colony at Monrovia had then been founded some twelve years, was assuming a permanent character, and acquiring a fair reputation among the free people of color. In 1832, the State Society, in Maryland, found no difficulty in obtaining, in one or two counties, one hundred and fifty emigrants for its first expedition, by the Lafayette, under the law giving ten thousand dollars, annually, to the cause. The American Colonization Society had as many applicants as they could obtain means to send to Africa. This period was a critical one for Colonization. Had the supply of emigrants continued, they would have been shipped, and great mischief would have been done. The Colonies were not yet ready for the accessions to their numbers that would have gone forward. We see this now: we were blind to it then. They had not, yet, served a long enough apprenticeship to qualify their people to act as their own rulers. Self-government had not yet become a matter of course to them. They still required white men at the head of affairs. The people themselves distrusted those of their own color as their chief magistrates.

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They were, in fact, in a transition state. To have crowded them, at this time, with such emigrants as would have been procured,—comparatively ignorant and inexperienced,—might have postponed for a long, long time, their political independence, if it had not periled the whole scheme. And yet, the impatience of Colonization would have permitted the crowd to sail. But, thanks to abolition, the supply of emigrants was suddenly cut off, and the gristle of the Colonies had time given to it to harden into the bones and sinews of manhood. The agents of abolition filled the minds of the ignorant of the colored people,—and they were the mass,—with a dread of Africa, its climate, deserts, serpents and wild beasts. Their promises of social and political equality with the whites, in the United States, won over the intelligent and ambitious: and thus, although there was money in abundance, yet but few emigrants were forthcoming. In Maryland, to which my experience more particularly relates, it was only necessary for a colored man to declare publicly his intention of going to Liberia, to make it sure that he would not go. He at once became a mark for the agents of the abolitionists; and they changed his purpose in nine cases out of ten. As already shewn, the end of all this was for our good: and this is the FIRST of our obligations to abolition.

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Again, although the colonizationists were satisfied that the two races could not amalgamate, and must therefore separate, sooner or later, yet this was, by no means, the universal belief. It was, therefore, most important, that this fact, upon whose truth Colonization rested, should be ascertained unto demonstration. No where could this be done so well as in the free States, in which the abolitionists were numerous, where the laws had already given the free blacks the broadest political rights, and where the feeling against slavery, even among those who did not rank as abolitionists, was, unquestionably, strong. The experiment of establishing a social, as well as political equality, of destroying prejudices as they interfered with a general amalgamation, was accordingly tried, here, at the North, under the most favorable circumstances. Up to the present time, it is persevered in. That it has utterly failed, will not be denied. White and colored orators have occupied the same platform at anniversary meetings; white and colored listeners have been seated, promiscuously on the benches before them; but this is all, that efforts, sincerely and zealously made, have been able to accomplish. It is to the abolitionist, therefore, that the colonizationist owes the demonstration of the truth of the conviction upon which he has been acting—that the two races, forever socially sepa-

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rated by the prejudices of caste, must separate in fact, if they would severally enjoy the same measure of social and political freedom. And this is the SECOND of our obligations to abolition.

But the greatest of the obligations, which abolition has conferred upon Colonization, has resulted from the agitation, to which reference has been already made. This has led men to look, full in the face, the difficulties involved in the existence, in a land, whose population increases as rapidly as ours does, of two free races whose amalgamation is impossible; between whom exist all the prejudices of caste; and the masses of both of which are fast becoming competitors for bread in all the avenues of labor. The solution of the problem, which these difficulties present, is the great question of the day; and the abolitionists have made it so. They propose to solve it by emancipating the slaves, wherever held, and changing the hearts and prejudices of the whites, until color ceases to be a mark of caste, and caste ceases to have an existence. These two conditions are inseparable; otherwise the emancipated slaves, unprotected by owners, and at the mercy of a class, superior in numbers, holding the political power, and influenced by prejudices made active by daily competition for employment,—would, evidently, be far worse off than they were before. The

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colonizationists propose to solve it, leaving hearts and prejudices as they are, by opening an outlet, through which, when the free colored people, themselves, shall feel the necessity of removal, they may emigrate to a home as free as this is, to a climate as congenial to them, to a Republic, on the model of that which they leave, and the mission of which in Africa seems to be the fulfilment of prophecy, and the development of the great problem of human progress. Which of these solutions finds most favor with the public, cannot, now, well be questioned. Colonization is in the ascendant. Its resources have increased; state after state is becoming a contributor to its treasury; its emigrants have multiplied; the proposition of ocean steamers, to facilitate its operations, has been kindly entertained in Congress; and multitudes of the free colored people are now among the warmest of its advocates. That this happy change has come over the public mind in regard to Colonization, is to be attributed, mainly, to the full discussion which the abolition excitement has provoked, even unto the shaking of the Union to its centre. And this is the THIRD of our obligations to Abolition, and the greatest.

Truly, then, Mr. President, may it be said, that Colonization, so to call the Society here assembled,

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and other societies affiliated with it, has no cause to complain of Abolition.

But, there are those, sir, who have bitter wrongs to lay at its door. They are black men, however, not white men. Abolition has been the black man's curse. The word is a harsh one, certainly; but is the only one that seems to convey the idea produced by the practical workings of abolition upon the condition of the black man, slave and free, in the slaveholding States. A Marylander myself, marrying in Mississippi, my experience has been acquired in the Middle and in the Southern States. Not a slaveholder, having no personal interests connected with the institution of slavery, abolition has not done, either to me or my friends, a wrong that I should resent. If I know my own heart, any feeling of excitement, which I entertain upon the subject, grows out of the fact, that I fancy myself to be the black man's friend. I am not a paid official, either, of Colonization, and never have been. I claim, therefore, to speak without undue bias, and with a knowledge derived from close observation under circumstances favorable to arrive at truth.

Prior to the year 1830, the relations between the whites and the blacks, slave and free, in the slaveholding states, especially in the large cities of these States, from Baltimore to New Orleans, cannot be bet-

ter described than by the single word "kindly." The free blacks were ordinarily employed in preference to whites, in all those callings in which there was a choice between the two. Household servants in cities, carters, draymen, coachmen, stevedores, farm-hands, other than slaves, were nearly all free blacks. As a general rule the slaves were treated with kindness and well provided for. This was the true interest of masters, even if they had no better motive. Societies, composed of the most respectable citizens, slave-holders and non-slave-holders, had long existed, whose object was to protect the black man from imposition, to promote the fairest trial of petitions for freedom, and, generally, to give aid and comfort to a race, whose very weakness formed its strongest claim to sympathy and protection. In 1830, it was believed by many, that a majority of the Legislature of Maryland was in favor of prospective emancipation. Modern abolition changed all this. The black laborer no longer received the preference, which, at one time, seemed to be almost a right. When free black men were taught, that they must look to obtaining "from the fears, what they could not expect from the justice of the whites," the line of separation between the two, which had rarely before been noticed, to the inconvenience of either, became, at once, a barrier that

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was insurmountable ; and passion, on both sides, built it, day by day, higher and higher. Masters began to suspect their slaves ; for Southampton had proved that risings could be planned in secret. Jealousy took the place of confidence ; harshness of kindness. There was some palliation for the slaveholder, who became a spy on his people, who curtailed their privileges, who threw difficulties in the way of their instruction, when he found tracts in circulation among them, which counselled massacre as the price of freedom. The old abolition societies were trodden down by the modern ones ; and have never been, and, from present appearances, never will be, revived : and, so great was the change which the new associations produced, in a very few years, in Maryland, that, when the constitution of that State was altered, in 1834, slavery was made a perpetual institution. Slavery used to be looked at through the medium of interest. Abolition made it a matter of State pride. Virginia and Kentucky entertained the same views with Maryland, prior to 1830. Abolition did for them what it did for Maryland : and, at this day, there are not three States in the Union more “Southern,” to use a well understood word, in their feeling, than the three here named. It is admitted, that this state of things, so far as temper entered into it, may not have been Christian ; yet it was hu-

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man: and, in calculating the future of its schemes, it might have been well for abolition to have recollected the humanity it had to deal with.

In this enumeration of the mischievous consequences of modern abolition, there must not be omitted the effect, which it has had in the border slaveholding States, of causing sales of slaves to States still further South; where the feeling in favor of voluntary emancipation is much weaker; where the condition of the slaves, if the abolitionists themselves are to be believed, is much worse; and where, their market value being greater, they have little or no hope of buying their freedom, according to a common custom in Maryland certainly, and, it is believed, in Kentucky and Virginia also. Every one, at all familiar with the state of things in the middle slaveholding States, must recollect, that the phrase, "selling to Georgia,"—Georgia here meaning the remote South—expressed the idea of all others the most abhorrent to the slaves. But, when abolition became active and efficient, in instigating slaves to run away, and in facilitating their doing so, masters, who could not afford to lose their slave property, sold it to save its money value. It may be safely said, that, as modern Abolition succeeded in promoting escapes, the negro traders thrived. After a somewhat careful enquiry, I am satisfied, that,

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for every slave that the abolitionists succeeded in "running off," two, at the very least, were sold to the South, who would not have been sold, but for the apprehension that they would be the next to be spirited away.* If a runaway were re-captured, he was invariably sold: and along with him were sold all who were suspected of being of the same mind with him. So that, were the account balanced, with a view to ascertain how far the abolitionists had promoted freedom by adding to the list of freemen, the result would,

* From 1830 to 1850, the abolition era, the slaves in Maryland diminished from 102,994 to 90,368, the difference being 12,626. From 1790 to 1810, they had increased from 103,036, their number, very nearly, in 1830, to 111,502, the difference being 8,466. There being few, if any, "sales out of the State," from 1790 to 1810, the number, 8,466, expresses what the natural increase would have been from 1830 to 1850, with sufficient accuracy. Sales to the South then, during these last 20 years, emancipations and escapes, affected the slave population to the extent in numbers, of 21,092, which is less than the true amount, for the emancipations between 1790 and 1810, are thrown out of view. The numbers actually emancipated in the interval between 1832, when a record was commenced, and 1852, presently and prospectively, was 4,319. Deducting for emancipations, become absolute prior to 1852, 3,000, which is a large allowance, and we have for escapes and Southern sales, 18,092. A large portion of the sales was, doubtless, caused by the high prices of cotton, which raised the price of slaves, multiplied negro traders, and induced many owners to buy Southern plantations and remove their slaves to them. But there are few in Maryland, who have kept their eyes open to events, who will not readily admit, that, at least, one-half of the transfers of slaves to the South, sometimes with their owners, and sometimes by sales, was materially affected, if not actually produced, by the uncertain value of slave property, consequent upon abolition, its aids and temptations.

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most probably, shew, that they had practically thrown it backward, through their particular function of aiding slaves to escape. If this is the fact, as it is believed to be, it is but another illustration of the harm, which well intentioned ignorance is capable of doing.

I know, Mr. President, that, as the opinion of an individual, all that is here said, in regard to the effect of the abolition agitation upon the entire colored population, notwithstanding a disclaimer to the contrary, may be looked upon as biased, to use the mildest term. It is well, therefore, to corroborate it, by testimony which cannot be suspected upon any ground; and I accordingly read from the published "Extracts from the minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held at Lombard street, in the city of Baltimore, 1842," a few passages having a bearing upon what has just been said.

After expressing, in strong argumentation, but most unexceptionably, in spirit and manner, "the testimony" of "friends" against slavery, and referring to the steps taken by "friends" to abate the evil of it, the report, which became the action of the Yearly Meeting, goes on thus :

"These movements of friends, influenced wholly by kindness and benevolence, produced in the mind of the slaveholder, no hostile feeling, either towards us, or

towards the colored population of our country. They created no dangerous excitement in the public mind, ending in tumults and riots; on the contrary, our appeals were received with respect and listened to with patience. Many were brought to reflect very seriously upon the subject, and thousands of slaves were voluntarily liberated. Laws were passed protecting the rights of the emancipated, and mitigating the condition of those retained in bondage. But how different is the present state of things! What a melancholy change has taken place in our country! Instead of laws ameliorating the condition of the colored people, we find an alarming disposition to abridge the few rights that have been granted to them: instead of a general feeling of kindness and commiseration, we find in many instances, a disposition of acrimony and bitterness engendered against them, without any provocation on their part. Even in the free States, great violence and many cruelties have been exercised towards them. The progress of emancipation has been checked, and a mutual feeling of jealousy and suspicion has taken the place of the reciprocal confidence, which, to a great extent, had subsisted between the master and slave."

"For all this there must be a cause. Can 'the good tree' produce such bitter fruit? We earnestly

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and affectionately entreat our friends and brethren everywhere, to pause and deeply reflect upon the consequences, before they commit themselves in any degree, by countenancing or entering into associations founded upon principles, or governed by motives, inconsistent with the mild, forbearing and peaceable spirit of the Gospel. We may rest assured, that all attempts to effect the liberation of slaves by coercive measures will be met, as they already have been, by a counteracting force, and, if persisted in, will finally lead to violence—perhaps to bloodshed.”

Testimony like this, from such a quarter, must be above all suspicion. It describes a state of things, in 1842, which, no one pretends, has since been ameliorated.

Taking it for granted, then, that the practical working of abolition upon the condition of the black man, slave and free, has prejudiced his present and future interests, there is the fullest justification for saying, that the account, which abolition will have to settle, for wrong done, is with him, and not with the white man. That all this wrong has been wilfully done, is, of course, not charged. That true and single minded men are to be found, who are, at the same time abolitionists, is admitted. But, on the other hand, it is equally plain, that abolition has been made

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an instrument in the hands of men who have been utterly regardless of the interests of the blacks ; and that their carelessness and indifference, and the ignorance of the others, have brought about a state of things deeply to be deplored, and for which abolition is utterly powerless to make the smallest compensation. Hereafter, and before the Judge of all things, should the black man, at that awful day, be the accuser, it will be known, how far the plea of ignorance will prevail, in mitigation of the punishment proper to those, whose ill-considered zeal has performed, what is here shown to have been, the office of modern abolition. A kindly feeling changed, too often, to a rancorous hate,—bonds tightened and privileges curtailed,—a present without permanence, and a future without hope,—are among the results for which abolition may yet have to answer before Him, who, if He permits such evil upon earth, holds, nevertheless, the agents of it to a dread accountability.*

* Statistics furnish some not uninteresting facts affecting the practical workings of modern abolition : and although where the population is large, and differences are small enough to be accounted for as inaccuracies, mathematical precision is not to be obtained from the pages of a census, yet reliable inferences may sometimes be drawn from the facts disclosed there.

From 1790 to 1800 the free colored population increased 82.2 per cent.

"	1800 to 1810	"	"	"	"	72.2	"
"	1810 to 1820	"	"	"	"	25.25	"

This remarkable change in the ratio of increase is difficult to ac-

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But it has been said, that these results are properly chargeable to Colonization, whose teachings, in regard to the impossibility of a general amalgamation, and the establishment of social and political equality, have

count for, unless upon the supposition, that the numerous manumissions, which swelled the per centage in the two previous decades, were checked by some active cause; and the only one that occurs to us is, that, up to 1808, there was a free importation of slaves from Africa; and that, a supply from this source being cut off during the decade following 1810, slaves acquired a fancy value during that period, which affected manumissions. In the decade, ending 1830, the per centage increased to 36.85, which shows that manumissions were again becoming frequent, on the supposition that 25.25 approximated to the natural increase. But, from 1830 to 1840, it fell to 20.9, and, from 1840 to 1850, to 10.96! Now, there is no question, that, during these last twenty years, the increased cultivation of cotton, and the corresponding increased value of slaves, affected manumissions. But, when we recollect that these twenty years embrace the life time of modern abolition, and recollect also the influence which abolition has upon the temper of the owners of slaves, upon whom the increase from manumissions depends, it is certainly not unfair to attribute to its agency, in some degree, the result here exhibited. At all events, we may, unquestionably, infer from the tables of the census, that abolition, with manumission its exclusive object, has had very scant success in promoting it; affording another illustration of the fact, that the means are sometimes most potent to defeat the very end they propose to accomplish.

There are other considerations worth noticing, connected with the above facts, to elaborate which would exceed the limits of the present note. While the increase of the free blacks, from 1840 to 1850, was but 10.9 per cent. the increase of the slaves, notwithstanding manumissions, which are constantly going on, was 28.81 per cent. Making allowance for some free colored emigration to Canada and Liberia, and for a difference in the habits of the bond and free in regard to marriage, &c. &c., there is still a striking disproportion in the ratios of increase; from which it would seem, that the causes promoting increase, such as good food, clothing, shelter and medical attendance,

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produced that state of feeling between the races, which has led to the conviction, if it really exists, that a separation must take place.* This is attributing to

and their accompaniment, health, were more operative with the slaves than with the free people of color. A fair inference too, would appear to be, that a general emancipation, such as the abolitionists are striving for, would reduce the increase of the slaves from 23.81 to 10.96 per cent. with the prospect of a still further reduction. Indeed, the "abstract of the seventh census" looks as if it gave some probability to the assertion, heretofore often regarded as a random one, that the best way "to get rid of" the colored population, would be to emancipate the slaves forthwith, when the whole race, in a generation or two, would wear out. But the object is not "to get rid of" this population, in the sense here intended. The object is to prevent its wearing out, by giving it a home, where, apart from all baleful influences, it may work out a noble destiny.

* "We have been convinced, for a long time, that it was the wish of many of the leading men amongst us, both North and South—but principally at the South, where the scheme originated—a wish deemed worthy by them to be unceasingly labored for—that the condition of the free colored people should be rendered so undesirable, that the feelings of humane and conscientious owners would be so quenched or turned back that they would not emancipate; that many of the slaves would not greatly desire to enter that class; that, when compared with the other classes of our population, it would appear to decrease, and that it would really *increase* but slowly; and that, should the planners succeed in this, they, the free colored people, would, in the end, be compelled to emigrate from this country—already beginning to be called "the white man's home, and his exclusively, and that God had so appointed it,"—and seek some other, where they would be at peace, and where, in consequence of their emigration, and of their emigration alone, the usual stimulants of men would be open to them and unrestrained."—*J. G. Birney's Address to the Free Colored People of the United States.*

The address, from which the above is an extract, is written calmly and well; and, in the scope of it, is entitled to the candid considera-

Colonization a power, which it has never possessed, over the public mind.

Until a comparatively recent period, until, it may be said, the abolition agitation brought us into notice, we were but of small consideration. An annual meeting of the American Colonization Society at Washington, with a brief flourish of trumpets: a meeting of your Society here, drowned in the thunder of the other anniversaries; an occasional gathering of the Maryland State Colonization Society, at Annapolis, scarcely heard of beyond the limits of that ancient city; three or four Colonization newspapers of very meagre circulation; the announcement, at rare intervals, of the sailing of an expedition to the coast; and,

tion of every free colored man in America. It is eminently unjust to the colonizationists as a body, it is true; but this is a matter of small consequence. It attributes to them a state of things, which is due to far other causes, as has been shewn in the text. The conclusions to which it arrives, however, are so just; its recognition of the impossibility of the social and political equality of the two races, here, no matter from what it proceeds, is so ample; and its comparison of the recommendations of Canada, the West Indies, and Liberia, as places to which to emigrate, is so fair and satisfactory; and, withal, its style is so clear, and strong and able, that it deserves to be placed amongst the most important of the publications of the day, affecting this subject:—the more especially, as it comes from one, who has, heretofore, occupied the highest rank with the abolitionists. It is a frank abandonment, by an honest man, of a hopeless contest. Its only mistake consists in attributing defeat to the labors of individuals, separately, or associated; whereas it is due, exclusively, to circumstances infinitely beyond the power of man to control or affect.

now and then, a notice, from some good-natured editor, of the latest news from Liberia,—these, with the exertions of some half a dozen agents,—“*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*,”—constituted the “appliances and means to boot” of colonization, to which has been attributed the sentiment, fast becoming national, that the races are to separate.—It is idle to contend that such means were ever adequate to produce it.

And yet, assuredly, the sentiment exists. To what, then, is it to be attributed? To what, but the mighty immigration, which has built across the Atlantic the bridge of boats, one abutment of which is in New York, and over which comes, with heavy tramp, in the shape of a vast multitude, POWER! Power, to add to our national strength, and raise, still higher, the fabric of our national renown;—power, to construct our rail roads and canals;—power, before which the free black man must flee as from the wrath that is to come. Fold the sails of our commerce,—give employment and bread, at home, to the starving thousands of Europe,—take from us our great name of being an asylum for the oppressed of every land,—check the westward march of the star of empire,—render our country as inaccessible as a city fenced round about with walls,—and then, and not till then, if, even then, will you smother the sentiment above

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referred to, and which Colonization has been so idly charged with having originated.

It is not the white man's sentiment only: it is fast becoming the free black man's. He is becoming disabused of the idea, so studiously inculcated by our unfriends, and, once, so successfully, that colonizationists are his enemies. He is beginning, now, to listen to the coming tramp.

This question, as to whether the colonizationists or the abolitionists are the black man's truest friends, has often been discussed. The former have, generally, been satisfied to refer the question to time to settle. The latter, whose system is agitation, have made it the subject of loud and vehement argument: and, as their avowed object was the emancipation of all the slaves in the country, and the establishment of social and political equality between the free whites and free blacks, it was no wonder, that, for a season, they had the best of the dispute in the opinion of the free colored population. But these last were, themselves, by their own conduct, all this time, settling the question in the other way. At all events, it is a singular coincidence, that, where Colonization was most active, there were they the most numerous; and their numbers seemed to increase as Colonization thrived. For example; Maryland, which has a free

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colored population of 74,077, larger than that of any other State in the Union, has done ten times more than any other State in behalf of the cause. She began, by subscribing to it one thousand dollars per annum, as far back as 1826. In 1831, this was increased to ten thousand per annum, for twenty years. When circumstances compelled her, in 1841, and for some years thereafter, to suspend the payment of the interest on her public debt, the Colonization subscription, upon which her Colony at Cape Palmas depended, was never in arrear for a single day: and, within the last month, the ten thousand dollars subscription having expired by limitation, it has been renewed, and made a charge upon the public treasury, instead of being a specific tax on the counties, as heretofore. Maryland is the only State which has established a Colony of its own in Africa. On the other hand, few States have done less for Colonization, in proportion to their means, than New York and Ohio; and in no States has abolition had a greater influence than in these two; while, in Maryland, abolition has no party and but few friends. One would think, then, that, were the abolitionists right in this matter, the free colored people would flee from Maryland to take refuge in Ohio and New York. But the fact is, that in Maryland, there are 74,077 free blacks to 418,590 whites ;

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while, putting New York and Ohio together, they contain but 71,237 free blacks to 5,005,565 whites. These figures speak for themselves.*

It is due, however, to frankness to say, that the change which has taken place in the minds of the free colored people, is, probably, in the main, independent of either colonizationists or abolitionists; but that it grows out of the fact, that they are beginning to feel, uncomfortably, the immigration already mentioned. Between 1810 and 1820, this was less than 12,000 per annum. From 1820 to 1830, it was but little more than 20,000. The next decade found it increased to about 78,000. The last years of the last decade saw it swell to 270,000: and an estimate in the Herald, within a few days, makes the immigration into New York alone, at this present time, at the rate of 30,000 per month, or 360,000 per annum; which would justify us in setting down the entire immigration, into all the ports of the country, at about half a million a year. Thus it is seen, that, during the earlier years of Abo-

*In speaking thus of New York, the occasion is afforded to say, that one of the most able and conclusive arguments, in favor of Colonization, looking at it as eminently philanthropic in its promised results, both to America and to Africa, which has yet been made, is to be found in the speech of the Hon. J. W. Beekman, in the Senate of New York, on the 10th of March, 1852. It covers, thoroughly, this branch of the subject. It is only to be regretted, that, where the argument was so able, the legislative action was not correspondent.

lition and Colonization, there was no such pressure upon the free colored people as now exists. During this period, the free colored people regarded emigration as a matter of unbiased choice; and finding themselves comfortably fixed in this country, buoyed up at times with the promises of social equality held out by the abolitionists, they looked rather to places of profit and honor in America, than in a remote land, with which they had no sympathies, and where civil government was in its infancy: nor was it until the increasing pressure, whose statistics have been given, roused them from their delusion, that any change appears to have taken place in their opinions.

As illustrations of what is here said,—the speaker was called upon, within the last month, by a colored man of intelligence and respectability in Baltimore, who wished to emigrate to Liberia. He was worth, at least, sixteen thousand dollars, and in a thriving business. He stated, that the immediate cause of his visit was seeing, in a daily paper, that the immigration into New York, during the preceding week, had been nine thousand.—This, to use his own words, “was a warning to the colored people to clear out.” Again, within a few hours, a colored man at the hotel at which the speaker stays here, shewed him the constitution of a society to purchase land in Liberia, and

make preparations there for the comfortable reception of its members. This man gave, as the immediate cause of his interest in the subject, the reflections suggested by the turning out of all the colored servants of a large hotel in New York, during the last winter, and the substitution of white ones in their place. Instances like these are of every-day occurrence.

The foreign immigration into the United States is not likely to diminish. Were it not for the immense extent of our uninhabited lands, its pressure upon the free blacks would be that of iron upon iron, inelastic and inflexible; and the consequences would be miserable to anticipate. But the constant drain upon the white population of the Atlantic States, to supply the demand west of the mountains, affords, and may continue to afford, for years to come, breathing space for both races in their accustomed homes. It is this drain which makes the pressure spoken of an elastic one; a pressure that suggests, rather than compels, the removal of the free blacks,—which gives them time to make preparation for themselves or for their children,—which will allow those unfit to emigrate to end their lives here, in peace and in comfort,—a pressure adapted to the occasion, and regulated by a far higher power than man's, in mercy: but a pressure, neverthe-

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less, constant and increasing, and whose suggestions have the solemnity and the force of doom.*

* The "Abstract of the Seventh Census" is not without its interest in this connection. It shews the influence upon our entire population of the foreign immigration, and the periods at which this has been most potent.

The proportion between the white and the colored population, bond and free, at the first census, in 1790, was as 4.18 to 1—that is, there were four hundred and eighteen whites to one hundred colored persons. The following table exhibits the successive decades in this respect:

1790,	4.18	white to 1. colored.		
1800,	4.29	" 1. "	white gain,	.11
1810,	4.25	" 1. "	colored gain,	.04
1820,	4.44	" 1. "	white gain,	.19
1830,	4.52	" 1. "	"	.18
1840,	4.93	" 1. "	"	.41
1850,	5.4	" 1. "	"	.47

The colored gain at 1810 is accounted for by the acquisition of Louisiana, and probably also, because, the slave trade, ceasing, by law, in 1803, a large importation took place in the early part of the decade, in view of that fact. The increase of the slave population between 1800 and 1810 was 33.4 per cent. The average increase of the six decades from 1790 to 1850 was 23.93,—the next greatest to 1810 being 30.6, in 1830, and the least being 23.08 in 1840.

In the *four* decades, ending at 1830, the gain in the rate of increase of the white over the colored population, bond and free, was but .34,—while in the *two* decades, ending at 1850, it was .88: but then, the total number of immigrants, up to 1830—forty years, had been only 437,979—while in the next twenty years, up to 1850, it was 2,321,350.

A calculation in "The Abstract" shews the whole number of immigrants and their descendants, in 1850, to have been 4,350,934. Deducting this from the total white population in 1850—19,630,738—and there remains 15,279,804 as the white population of 1850, irrespective of immigration: and the colored population of 1850, being 3,632,750, it appears, that, but for the immigration, the proportion between the white and the colored would have been as 4.2 of the former to 1. of the latter, which is almost identical with the proportion in 1790.

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The true light in which to regard Colonization is to look upon it as differing, in no-wise, from the colonizations that have preceded it,—from that, for

The change, then, in the proportions of the races, which works a corresponding change in the comfort and prospects of the weaker, is due, mainly, if not entirely, to the immigration, as has been stated in the text: and the ratio of the increase of this immigration being a constantly and rapidly accelerating one,—as shewn by the table above,—the result insisted on, the emigration of the weaker,—instead of being a matter of opinion only, acquires the certainty of demonstration, when connected with the impossibility of amalgamation and the consequent strife of caste.

The above is the statement most favorable to the abolition side of the argument, too; because it is founded on the increase of the entire colored population—and looks at the question as if both bond and free were free, which is the result at which modern abolition aims.

But the argument becomes far stronger, when the comparison is limited, according to the fact, to the whites and the free blacks—between whom the competition, that is to drive the latter to the wall, actually takes place: for, while, between 1840 and 1850, the increase of the whites was to that of the entire colored population as 38.23 to 26.41, it was to the increase of the free blacks as 38.28 to 10.96!

And yet, even this is more favorable to the free blacks, than the true condition of things: for it supposes the free colored population to be scattered in equal proportions over the entire country, which is very far from being the case. Of the whole free colored population of 1850—amounting to 428,661—ten States contained 349,677; and among these States were New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, the ratio of the increase of whose white population very far exceeds that of the free blacks, whose number in these States is 136,348, while that of the white population is 8,241,656.

In any aspect of the case, then, even the most favorable, “The Abstract of the Seventh Census” corroborates most fully the views of the text. The whites are becoming stronger and stronger; the free blacks weaker and weaker, and between the two there may one day be a strife, without compromise, for bread.

instance, which brought our ancestors to America. Thus viewed, the whole subject becomes a very simple one. The emigrants will be forthcoming, when it becomes their interest to emigrate; not because those, who have prepared a new home for them, have done aught to force or accelerate their departure, but because circumstances, beyond all human control, and for which they have provided, compel it. Like other emigrants, they will pay their own expenses, or have them paid by those of their friends or relatives who are already established in comfort in Liberia. When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, they had to conquer a home from the Indians, and subsistence from the unproductive soil and unfriendly climate. The pilgrims to Liberia find houses prepared for them, in a congenial climate and upon an exhaustless soil. The mother country of the first yielded independence at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the cannon. The mother country of the last educated them for independence, and gave it before it was asked even. The first came to a continent covered with forests, and sparsely peopled with hunters and warriors, affording no market for the products of civilization, save to a very limited extent. The last go to a continent swarming with people, cultivating the soil, living in regular communities, themselves manufacturers in

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gold, and cloth, and iron,—and as thirsty for all that the loom and the anvil, in civilized hands, can produce, as their sands are thirsty for the dew. Commerce was an incident with the first. It is a necessity of the last. Where the first Colonization referred to, therefore, had one chance of success, the last has many chances. Through its agency, the market of Africa is to be opened to relieve the glut which now exists in other markets,—and, thus, independent even of Colonization, except as subsidiary, a commerce will grow up, which will do for the free blacks of America, what the commerce between this country and Europe is now doing for the Irish, the Germans, and many others.

The entire free colored population of the United States, is but 428,661—not a year's work to remove, for the emigrant ships now plying between the old world and the new. The entire colored population, slave and free, is 3,633,150, or less than seven years' work for the same ships, were both slaves and free ready for removal. It is most true, that there is an increase of both going on daily; and that the figures of the last census, here used, are already inaccurate. This affects the question of time, only, however. For illustration sake, we have spoken of years in connection with the subject. Such results as are contem-

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plated, however, are the work of generations. But if the principle, on which the results are to depend, is constant in its operation, time must bring them about. The circumstances which exist, in this case, to quicken time, have already been noticed.

Time and circumstances, then, using the agency of the same Colonization, which has been going on from the earliest period, throughout the world, may be safely relied upon to separate, quietly and naturally, the two free races now inhabiting this country; taking to Africa the free colored population, and establishing them under a government of their own, modeled after ours, in the only land where, thanks to a climate, fatal to the white man, they will, forever, be free from his encroachments,—and leaving us, here, in America, with a homogeneous free population of one color, with common interests, feelings and destiny.

To bring all this about, a mighty enginery, not of man's contrivance, but growing out of the fitness of things, in which man's feelings, passions, virtues and interests, all perform their parts, is in motion, resistless motion. Whether it shall move smoothly, or "grate harsh thunder," depends upon that public favor, to invoke, and secure which, meetings like the present are convened. Hence, Colonization still

labors, even after the Republic has been established, and circumstances are sufficient for the rest.

The remarkable concurrence of these circumstances is by no means the least satisfactory of the assurances, which give to colonizationists confidence in their cause. When the meeting was held, with a reference to which this address commenced, the population of the United States did not exceed 9,000,000, and in 1820, the total number of emigrants and their descendants, was but 359,000. The whites and the free colored population lived in perfect harmony and trustful confidence. There were neither circumstances nor instigators to produce ill will: and, to the nine hundred and ninety-nine in the thousand, there was no reason apparent why this state of things should not last forever;—and, hence, the very discrepancies of opinion in regard to this cause, that have already been adverted to. The miracle of the cotton-gin was of recent date. The manufactures, it so marvellously quickened, were in their early infancy. The steam engine, instead of being the common tool which it has since become, was of rare employment. In 1818, there were but four steamboats on the North River. The rail road and the locomotive were unknown: and ocean steam navigation, and its predecessors, the New York packet

ships, were not even the visions of a dream. Hand labor was the labor of the world. Since that period, our population has increased to 25,000,000. The immigrants and their descendants were estimated, in 1850, at 4,350,000. Steam has wrought its countless wonders. Not only has it taken the place of hand labor in a multitude of instances, but it has facilitated intercommunication, until labor has been deprived of the protection, which the trouble and expense of transporting laborers from place to place once afforded it. Human affairs are moving on with a velocity that is almost fearful. Lifetimes are being lived, so far as events are concerned, in single days. Strife for pleasure, strife for profit, strife for power, characterize each hour of present existence. Strife, strife, it is all strife! and woe to the weakest now. If this state of things continues for a generation,—and what is there to change it,—and there remain in this country, which is the most vivid illustration of the wonderful activity referred to, the two races of free-men so often mentioned, what is to be the fate of the weakest, if amalgamation is impossible, in the presence of a population which increases in such rapid numbers? But while population thus increases, and has thus increased in the last five and thirty years, the manufactures of civilization have increased more

rapidly, in proportion to the existing demand for them : and, now, that the known markets of the world are glutted, the demand is for new ones. Africa is the greatest of those remaining to be opened. The English, at Sierra Leone and up the Niger, the Dutch, the French, the Portuguese, have tried in vain to penetrate it. It can be reached but by one agency; and that is, through the colonies of civilized emigrants from the United States, which, during the period here referred to, Colonization has been quietly engaged in planting upon the coast. Had this demand for markets existed, a quarter of a century ago, it could not have been thus supplied. Had this swarming activity existed, a quarter of a century ago, there would have been no escape for the free black man from the pressure that it created. Had the abolition excitement raged at its utmost, a quarter of a century ago, no such solution, as we now have of the problem, growing out of the existence of the two races in this country, with no possibility of amalgamation, would have presented itself. But it has been ordered otherwise. The exigencies referred to have become apparent only when the means of answering them have been supplied, after a preparation, perfected by the very obstacles, which, to human eyes, threatened to defeat it. While active progress has characterized all other things,

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Colonization, which was, in the end, to be the handmaid of this activity, has been prosecuted slowly and painfully; until now, all circumstances concurring, the nation, which it has built up, is ready to enter upon its functions, as a powerful agent in the progress of human affairs, and, in the order of Providence, fulfilling the destiny in store for it, when the slave trade was permitted, that Africa, through the agency of its horrors, even, might, when the descendants of the captives returned to her, be brought within the pale of civilization, under the blessed light of the Christian dispensation.

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